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ENGLISH UNION,
IS
IRELAND'S RUIN!
OR AN
ADDRESS
TO THE
IRISH NATION.

"Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes."

BY HIBERNICUS

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ENGLISH

THE

A D D R E S S

TO THE

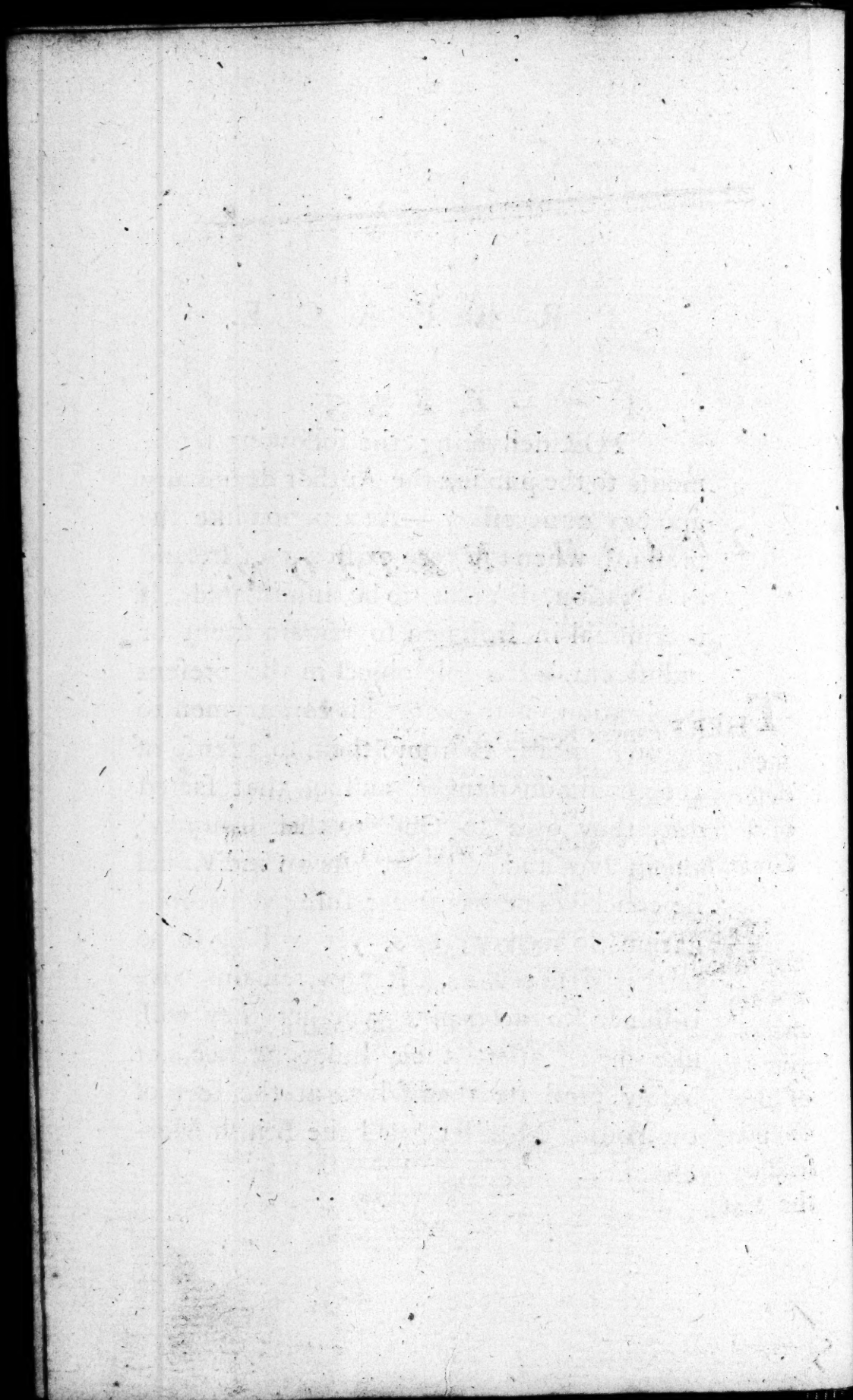


THE

FOR THE

P R E F A C E.

FOR delivering the following sentiments to the public, the Author deems any apology unnecessary.—At a period like the present, when the very existence of Ireland as a Nation, is about to be annihilated; it is criminal in Irishmen to remain silent or indifferent.—His sole object in the present publication, is to exhort his countrymen to be unanimous, to rouse them to a sense of their common danger, and of that sacred duty they owe to God, to their Country, themselves and posterity. As an individual he conceives he has so far fulfilled his obligations to society; he is yet willing to go farther if necessary. It now remains with Irishmen to determine whether they will, like men, assert their Independence, or basely prostrate themselves at the feet of the British Ministers, and the British Merchant.



AN
ADDRESS
TO THE
IRISH NATION.

THERE cannot be a subject, my fellow-countrymen, so well worthy your attention, and so highly deserving your most serious consideration, as that of a legislative Union betwixt this Country and Great Britain.

We can now no longer doubt the intention of the Ministry in respect to this measure.—We cannot any longer doubt what their wishes and sentiments are with regard to it, they have given you something more than presumptive evidence of this their design; the rumours they are daily circulating amongst you, the Pamphlets they are sending amongst you, and the conversation of the Castle, which is but the echo of the Bri-

tish Minister's, amount to a plain declaration, that the Cabinet of England and the English Nation are determined to make the daring attempt, of robbing you of that Constitution, which your ancestors had long struggled for, which the Volunteers of Ireland at length obtained, and in defence of which, my countrymen, you yourselves have so lately risked both your lives and properties. What then, will Irishmen tamely submit that Constitution to be taken away from them, which their renowned forefathers looked up to, and considered as what was most valuable? Will Irishmen at the close of the eighteenth Century, give up their freedom and independence? Will Irishmen silently deliver up their civil, political and religious liberties? Will Irishmen submissively surrender the management of their trade and commerce, to English rapacity? No, my countrymen, no, you cannot, you will not thus sacrifice your dearest rights and privileges. The right of Legislating for yourselves, independent of any foreign interference or control, is a right which no human power upon earth, can with justice deprive you of—a right as unalienable as the soil, which gave you birth. This is the noble prize the Swiss fought for and gained, when they found themselves oppressed by Austrian tyranny, what the Dutch fought and bled for, when they threw off the yoke of wicked Philip. And 'tis the

prize Irishmen now possess, and will never surrender but with their lives.

It requires no great ingenuity to point out, nor any extraordinary depth of political sagacity to observe, that when once your Parliament is no more, your name as a nation, your independence, your glory, honour, interest and welfare perish along with it. And if we may judge of what is to come, from what is past, you will find, alas! this sad prediction of mine too fully verified, if ever this unfortunate event take place. But turn over the page of Irish history, my countrymen, mark there diligently the transactions of this country, observe well the general course of conduct of the British ministry and merchant towards Ireland and Irishmen, and what is it you behold? Why on the one hand, such an uniform scene of plunder perfidy and oppression, as integrity shrinks back from, and good faith disowns; whilst on the other hand, you behold, sad spectacle! poverty, misery, discontent and wretchedness. They have moreover, with all the insolence and offensiveness of a Moorish despot, added insult to oppression, and heightened our calamities by scoffs and revilings. And why? Because you had demanded that liberty which is your birth-right, and that independence which alone can secure you happiness. No abstract reasoning, my Countrymen, no declamation, no arguments are here necessary to prove

to you the truth of these assertions. Facts stand alone, and facts stare you in the face, history and tradition broadly declare them to you; to quote a few instances of English conduct will be sufficient for the present. Look then to the Policy and cunning of the British Cabinet on Irish affairs so far distant as the period of the rebellion and revolution. What was it? I'll tell you—the forfeitures to the crown, at that time were immense, but the laws respecting these forfeitures were never rigorously put in force; the reasons are evident, should we, said the wise and liberal men of that day, confiscate the whole of the property of those who have transgressed the laws, the consequences will be fatal to our own cause and interest; for we would drive the unfortunate Irish to despair, and so dispirit and harass the Catholic, that emigrations to an alarming degree, must infallibly ensue, at the same time, so many protestants will enter into and settle in the kingdom, as to destroy that nice balance betwixt those two distinct and opposite interests, which we must always preserve in order to keep Ireland subordinate to and dependent on England. Such I say, was the language and policy of the ministry of that day, and such is the language and policy of the ministry of the present, behold their motto—

“ Divide et impera.”

Passing over several unjust laws made as to different articles of trade, and cruel enormities com-

mitted against this nation, let us go on to the reign of Geo. 1st.—Here you find an act of the British Parliament laying an embargo on the exportation of your provisions to the utter detriment and destruction of the Irish Farmer.—Here is an act to prevent the Irish manufacturer from working and manufacturing his own wool, merely to gratify English rapacity at the expence of Irish happiness and Irish prosperity. Good Heavens! could there be any thing more unjust, more cruel, more impolitic; thus to leave the wretched weaver and family to brood over their melancholy fate without any means of redress, and pine away from want and penury.—And drive the hardy farmer from his peaceful cot, in quest of a soil free from tyranny and more congenial to happiness.—But let us leave these gloomy scenes.—Let us pass over in silence the various oppressive laws enacted by our sister country, such as an Act entitled the better to secure the dependency of Ireland on England.—Several laws as to commerce and manufactures, favourable to the welfare of Britain, but ruinous to Ireland, such as that made with regard to Paper, Glass, and many others, during the period that elapsed from the reign of George the I. till the American war. Let us come on now my Countrymen, to the most memorable and glorious Æra in the Irish History——Behold the year 82 ever dear to Irishmen—You were then declared a free and Independent Nation.—Your virtuous Parliament at that period procured for you Liber-

ty and Commerce.—But did the British Legislature and the British merchant grant you liberty and free-trade with good heart and will? No, no, no—They were forced to give them you—They gave them you with reluctance—but they found it to be their own interest to hold up a good correspondence with the Irish—their own situation too was critical; and the Volunteers of Ireland were in arms, a set of men as unrivalled in fame, as they are renowned for true Patriotism and public spirit. When England deserted them, when the British Minister ordered away that army which Irishmen paid for, and which, by compact was to remain for the defence of Irishmen, and left the kingdom to the mercy of any foe formidable enough to seize and destroy it.—Inspired with a national pride, and provoked and disgusted at the ungenerous and unworthy treatment of Britons, the people of this country boldly stepped forward, and resolved to defend themselves—Yes, my Countrymen you did do so—happy period for Irishmen—They were then first made sensible of their own strength and importance, they found themselves able to resist the encroachments of any power foreign or domestic, and thus firm and united, and made sensible of the dignity of Men, they acted like Men, by asserting that liberty and independence which they were conscious they had been so unjustly deprived of.—And here would I not be justified in saying that a wild political phrenzy has seized both Ministry and People of England in

attempting to forward such a measure, and in pursuing such a line of conduct with regard to this country, as lost to them for ever the brightest jewel in the English Crown, I mean America.—One would imagine that this glorious Revolution should operate powerfully on the minds of all succeeding Ministers—should stand up as a lesson, a warning to deter them from ever making an attempt to act contrary to the voice and wishes of the majority of any other kingdom; or to suppose that a nation resolved to be free, can be enslaved by the bayonet. The great Western Continent was lost to England by such base, impolitic conduct.—So may Ireland——

Be not too narrow sighted Englishmen, don't suffer yourselves to be imposed on by any language however specious, or by any promises however flattering.—Think not that Irishmen will ever submit to a Legislative Union.—The Irish Nation love and revere their gracious Sovereign and Constitution.—You have had ample demonstration of our loyalty and attachment at different periods.—In a late unfortunate instance, you have seen our zeal, activity and courage manifested in defence of both.—No other proofs are necessary.—Irishmen have fought and conquered in defence of their King and Constitution, and will fight and conquer again in the same honourable cause.—Let me persuade you it will not finally be the interest, nor will it at any time be becoming the dignity of the

English Nation even to wish to rob Ireland of her rights.—You may make the attempt, but I am confident you will be defeated, and what must for ever after be the state of the Irish mind? you say yourselves that we will one and all be for ever after jealous of Englishmen; or of any men who would presume to make Ireland dependent, and Irishmen slaves.—You little think that in endeavouring to subdue the spirit of liberty in this Country, you are destroying yourselves, and that for every act of violence you commit against Irishmen, you are but stabbing the English Constitution and planting daggers in the hearts of your own Countrymen.—The very idea of enforcing a legislative Union may be fatal to both countries.—Suffer then the connexion to remain on its present footing.—We have shewn ourselves prompt and willing to support you in the war, our Parliament has very liberally granted you large supplies of men and money, the very sinews of war.—Why then Englishmen take away from us that Parliament which has favoured you in all your wishes, and supported you in all your designs? How shall we term such unkind treatment? Ingratitude at least, you yourselves will allow it to be, but I will tell you, it is something more than Ingratitude, I say, it is treachery, it is robbery, it is rapacity, it is tyranny on your side, towards a brave, frank, generous and free-spirited people.

Be not too precipitate Mr. Pitt.—You are a man of a solid judgment, experience, abilities and extensive information.—You are blessed with a great and comprehensive genius.—To such a character, it may appear presumption in me to address myself; the only excuse I can make, is that warm and sincere attachment I feel towards my native soil, which, neither hopes of reward nor fears of persecution will influence me to suppress.—I beseech you then, Mr. Pitt, that you will not allow even the question of a Legislative Union to be discussed. It is in your power as Prime Minister to prevent it, and be not so weak as to suppose that the Irish people will ever separate your character from this measure.—You may seem to disclaim entering into its merits; you may not have it first proposed and debated in the English house, yet believe me this Nation is not so blind-folded, as not to perceive that you are the great and principal agent, that you are the grand spring by which all will be actuated:—You are Mr. Pitt, you are truly a great man, but human nature is not perfect; on this score therefore I could make many allowances for any act of yours, the consequences of which you had not foreseen, nor been made previously acquainted with: in the present instance you will have no plea of ignorance on your behalf.—The people of Ireland are giving you daily instances of their abhorrence and detestation of this measure; take care then how you proceed, you may do an act, which you

cannot recal, and which may be destructive of the life of both kingdoms.—I tell you such a measure may shake the throne of your gracious master, know well then the sentiments of the Irish before you proceed any farther.—Think not you have the voice of this Nation by purchasing the voice and interest of our Borough-mongers.—Never persuade yourself so far as to imagine that you will be able to purchase Irish independance, No, you do not, you cannot entertain so monstrous, so unnatural an idea.—You do then with me deprecate the evils and horrors that must follow if you proceed farther. I profess the most profound respect for our beloved Sovereign; his private virtues and philanthropy are the constant theme of the Irish.—We can never confound the goodness of his heart and the integrity of his wishes with the false ambition, vices and follies of his Ministry. His Majesty looks with a gracious eye towards this kingdom, he would be blessed in seeing it prosperous and happy: Do not then Mr. Pitt, do not, I pray you, by bringing forward a measure so odious, and so destructive of the happiness of Irishmen, blast that of your beneficent Sovereign—pay, at least, some regard to the character of the chief Magistrate, though you appear regardless of your own. Ministers before the present day, have been denominated Traitors to their King and Country, for pursuing, or allowing to be pursued measures, which, in their consequences might be ruinous to both; they

have been impeached, and have forfeited their lives too, for such criminal conduct; presume not then to bring forward a question which may lead you to the block, and in its consequences may shake the empire, by involving the right hand and arm of England in all the horrors of civil war, anarchy and confusion, and eventually tear it from the British diadem, the experiment is rather too ticklish. Trust me the Irish Nation will never suffer a Legislative Union with England, or in plainer language, the people of Ireland will never prostrate themselves at the feet of a British Ministry. Irishmen know too well the value of that independency, and that freedom of trade obtained in '82, ever to part with it except with their lives. I tell you Irishmen never will be slaves, and slaves they will be in case of an Union. Oh! my Countrymen, how miserable is the condition of that people, and what a base and contemptible figure do they appear in to surrounding Nations, when they have not sense to feel, nor spirit to resent all and every infringement made on their rights and privileges; but this Stigma, my Countrymen, is not applicable to you, —No, You have a keen sense of your duty and interest, and I'll venture to say, you possess as noble and independent a spirit as was ever infused into the Patriots of Greece or Rome when panting after Liberty.

Let us consider this question a little farther: once your Parliament is given up, can you say to yourselves that you are represented in an English one? No. Can you govern or direct any measure favourable to your native soil? No. Can you improve your agriculture, encourage arts, manufactures and sciences? No, you say. Will your petitions be heard, or your grievances redressed, by an English Legislature? No, England by her conduct, has given you demonstrative evidence of all this. What then is our situation? reduced to the state of an abject province, robbed of our Representatives; we are taxed beyond our means, we are plundered and oppressed, we appear but as a cypher, a blot in the map of Europe, and our petty transactions as a province, scarcely considered as worthy of a margin in the page of English history: Good God! my countrymen, what a situation! But you will not bear it, no, for on the bare recital, I see indignation and disdain painted in your countenances, I behold your souls ennobled with the greatest and noblest of designs—the liberty of your country—and with heart and hand sinewed and well strung, I behold you ready and anxious to oppose every base and unconstitutional attempt that may be made on your freedom and independency; fear not then, my countrymen, but preserve this determination, and your rights are secured to you, if you swerve from it, you are lost.

One of the many questions, which naturally offer themselves to the imagination, is whether or not the representatives of our nation, have any power or authority whatever, to make away with the Constitution, and with the Constitution, the rights of their Constituents. 'Tis surely a matter fit for enquiry. I do in the first place deny that any such power or authority is placed in the Parliament; and do declare, that in case they do commit so enormous a crime, they are responsible to the people; and the people are in no wise bound by such act or deed of theirs.

It is allowed by every friend of human nature and society, that in every nation where there is any shadow of liberty, there does exist a mutual compact tacit or express, betwixt the governors and governed, and that if the governors will not perform their duty and offices, the governed are released from theirs. And as the people are the source and origin of all civil power and authority, that power and authority returns to them again, on such non-fulfilment of the duties of their governors.

Moreover, when the Legislative powers act contrary to the trust reposed in them, there still remains inherent in the people, a supreme, natural and original right, to remove or alter the Legislative, when, they may place their authority in the hands of those in whom they have

confidence, and who will fulfil their duty as governors. The King Lords and Commons of Ireland constitute its government, and "the power of the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland is not an arbitrary power, they are the trustees not the owners of the state, the fee-simple is in Us, they cannot alienate, they cannot waste." When we say that the Legislature is *supreme*, we mean, that is the highest, in comparison with the other subordinate Powers established by the laws. In this sense, the word *supreme* is relative not absolute. The power of the Legislature is limited; not only by the general rules of natural justice and the welfare of the community, but by the forms and principles of our particular constitution. If this doctrine be not true, we must admit, that King, Lords and Commons have no rule to direct their resolutions, but merely their own will and pleasure. They might unite the *legislative* and executive power in the same hands, and dissolve the constitution by an act of Parliament."

This doctrine, my countrymen, requires no comment; you need but apply it to yourselves, if it appear in your eyes false or absurd condemn it; if on the contrary, it appear to you just and equitable; shew to the world that you think so by acting up to it's precepts.—Your

Representatives, I hope, will be mindful of *their duty*. I trust in God that at the present momentous period they will preserve the dignity and character of men, that they will shew themselves superior to the corruption, bribery and machinations of the Minister, and inspired with National Liberty and national pride, they will make Ireland rise above the standard of her former self. Ye Senators of Ireland! your country looks up to you with joy and gladness in her countenance—she beholds in you the brave defenders and assertors of her rights, privileges and interests. She beholds you in your senate, on so solemn an occasion, with aspects calm, steady and serene, and finding you armed with truth and virtue on one hand, and patriotism on the other, she cries out in the emphatic words of "*Hibernia's Sons come off victorious*."—Yes, and O! never let it be said that you would be capable of betraying that trust your Country has reposed in you. The Representatives of Ireland, my countrymen, will not desert you in the time of need, they will not forfeit your faith and friendship. They know they cannot, they therefore, never will attempt to delegate that right to others, which they possess not themselves. But you yourselves, my countrymen, as a great body, must not remain either silent or indolent, never was there a period in the Irish History more awful and critical than the present; you are now to determine by your conduct whether you are

hereafter to be Slaves or Freemen, whether or not you will basely stoop to be governed by English Laws and English Men, or stand up nobly and assert that independence and right of Legislature, which the brave Volunteers have transmitted to you, which you now possess, and which is your birth-right. Be steady then, my countrymen, be firm, united and determined.— Call upon the Sheriffs of your different Counties and Cities, convene your meetings, enter into resolutions, and shew to your Representatives and to the Kingdom, what your sense is of this unnatural measure, shew thus your abhorrence and detestation of it: you have no time to lose; delay is defeat:—silence is your death. Demonstrate then to your Country and to Europe, by an honorable and spirited conduct, that, you are worthy of the blessings of liberty, and fit to be ranked amongst Patriots and heroes. The metropolis of the kingdom has pointed out to you the path—the bar and the corporations of this city have expressed themselves with loyalty, boldness and firmness. I doubt not but you will do so likewise, for that ardour and patriotism which they have diffused through the City, is beginning to shew itself in every corner of the kingdom. Let divisions and discord no longer remain among you, unanimity, my countrymen, can alone save you. This is a cause in which every rank, every sect, every description of Irishmen is interested. Our lives, properties,

welfare and happiness are all embarked into it—
 Let us then, one and all with heart and hand,
 step boldly forward in defence of our happy Con-
 stitution.—Let us rally round the Standard of
 Independence, and with concordant voice, cry
 out *English Connexion but Irish Independence.*—

Be jealous of your Constitution, be watchful,
 put yourselves on your guard against those baits
 England may hold out to you as the price of Irish
 Independency, be cautious, my Countrymen, be
 vigilant of your interests: take care how you trust
 the professions of a Ministry full of deceit and fi-
 nesse. Before enquiring into those great and pre-
 tended advantages which are rumoured abroad
 but to delude and entrap us, I will in the first
 place, positively declare it as my opinion, and so
 I trust will every honest Irishman; that it is not
 in the power of the British Cabinet, nor the Brit-
 ish Nation with all its wealth, commerce and
 consequence, nor in the power of any nation un-
 der the Sun, to grant to Ireland and to Irishmen
 any equivalent whatsoever for the surrender of
 their Independency. What will the consequence
 of such surrender be? 'tis evident—once you give
 up your right of Legislature, you give up along
 with it, your civil, political and religious liberty,
 and losing such liberty, it necessarily follows, that
 both your lives and properties are insecure, and
 dependent on the arbitrary will and caprice of
 Englishmen. May God in his kind mercy to-
 wards us, avert such ruin from this land.

But let us enquire a little into those mighty advantages which are industriously circulated we will enjoy in case of an incorporated Union, What are they? Some say a Mint is to be established in Ireland—A Board of Trade—Docks for building Men of War.—Now granting all this, must advantages thence result to Ireland? for my part, I am inclined to think the very contrary: The experiment however is to be made. Let us go on a little farther, and allow for sake of argument, that England will grant us every right and privilege with regard to commerce, that she herself enjoys, subject to the same regulations and restrictions; does it not strike the senses of every man, that England from her superior wealth, and having arrived at greater perfection in manufactures than what we have, will always be enabled to undersell us in every market in Europe? Supposing even the English will allow us a free trade to the East Indies (which will not be) and that certain advantages might accrue to us from certain articles of Union. What let me ask, would such paltry advantages avail when put in competition with the blessings of freedom? Or can you, my Countrymen, imagine for an instant, are you so blind as not to perceive that the English Nation would never adhere to any one article of Union, farther than it regarded their own interest and personal aggrandizement? Turn your eyes to Scotland, take warning by the miserable effects an Union had on that Country.—

Many of us have seen, and we have all heard of the ruinous consequences of the Scottish Union—In that particular instance as well as the present the grand principle which actuated the English, was self-interest, jealousy, and ambition. Were the rights and interests of Scotland regarded during the negotiation betwixt their servile and abandoned Parliament and that of England? No—Did that Union meet with the approbation and commerce of the Scots? No, the people opposed the measure; their representatives being bought, basely betrayed the rights of their constituents and sold their *own native soil*.—Now 'tis fair to ask, did the Parliament of Great Britain hold its faith inviolate with the Scots on the Articles of Union? No, they did not, they broke through them according as it served England's interest, or gratified their own whim; look to the Malt Tax with many other instances of breach of compact—And thus I say, Irishmen, will they act by you, if ever you surrender up your Parliament!—Believe me, Articles of Union and Treaties avail but little when there is no superior power to enforce the observance of them—You cannot trust yourselves to the protection of Britain alone. 'Tis not customary with her to grant you very many and very kind indulgences—No, no. And when she found it answer her own convenience and safety, she left you unsafe, unarmed and unprotected—Look to your situation during the American War.

If ever so calamitous an event should happen to Irishmen, as that of an incorporated Union with England, let it be demanded what Patriot then would rise in the British House of Commons, the warm advocate of Irish prosperity and Irish Happiness? or even granting for an instant, (which by the bye, is granting too much) that every individual Member returned for Ireland, was zealous to espouse the interest and cause of their Country against English Pride and English Avarice, what, I say, could their feeble voices avail when opposed to that corrupt and venal Phalanx, an English Minister has always at his command? You will not then, my Countrymen, suffer this Union, for in doing so, you see that you are inevitably undone: All your future hopes of happiness for yourselves and children are irrevocably gone—and the pleasing prospect now presented to you, of peace, plenty, commerce and wealth, is completely blasted. And what light would you appear in to surrounding Nations? reduced to the condition of dependence, you lose your dignity and respect as a Kingdom, and robbed of the means of recovering your lost privileges, you would appear in the low and contemptible character of a cringing humble servant to a haughty and domineering Master.

Your Parliament is the watchful guardian of your rights and liberties:—All the benefits you now enjoy, and all the advantages you have ac-

quired in your civil policy and commerce have been through its virtuous exertions.—You surely then cannot think of giving away or of allowing that power to be taken from you, which is your only resource in times of difficulty and danger :— Enter into no treaty of Union with Englishmen— They may hold out to you very fair and flattering promises, but trust them not.—Once they induce you to a surrender of your Parliament, you remain ungarded and unprotected. Your situation then is similar to that of the sheep in the fable, when they were prevailed on to dismiss their faithful guardian the dog, except with this difference, that as the sheep were overpowered and destroyed by the wolf, you would be hunted down and devoured by the lion.

Let us now briefly enquire into those motives which seem most probable, to actuate the Minister to bring forward such a measure, and what inducements he must hold out to the English merchants to make them accede to it—for to pretend to say, he wishes the welfare of Ireland is absurd, he has uniformly in conjunction with the English merchant opposed it; and 'tis very well known what weight and influence, the commercial part of that Nation has over the Prime Minister. The British ministry, my Countrymen, have not yet forgotten, nor forgiven the high tone and independent spirit manifested by the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Parliament of 82. They declared

your independence, and your Trade free with infinite reluctance:—and have endeavoured ever since to undermine the one, and destroy the good effects of the other—but the spirit and great natural advantages of our Country have baffled all their infamous attempts: The Minister of the day perceiving the rising generation glowing with true Patriotism and national dignity, and finding it daily more difficult to influence and corrupt the Irish Legislature; and still regretting that superiority over Irishmen, England was obliged to renounce in 82—why he wishes by bringing forward an Union to cut the business short, and by thus taking our Constitution away from us altogether, he knows he may tax, rob, and insult us with impunity.—Now, what say the English merchants, what are their thoughts on the subject? They observe that since the freedom of your Trade was declared, we have increased in commerce, wealth and consequence. They see with a jealous eye, our Manufactures beginning to flourish; and now find very contrary to their interest, and very much against their wishes, that the people of Ireland are not that lazy, filthy, ignorant and barbarous race of Men, which they have often represented us to be.—No—their voice begins to change—they behold the Irish peasant frugal, laborious and industrious—they see the Manufacturer possess genius, quickness and application—yes, I say, great application where there is any incentive held out to Industry. They see you making rapid progress

in every branch of Manufacture, that you outdo them in some, and are beginning to rival them in others.—They perceive all this, and then say, let us join with the Minister in ruining the Commerce of Ireland—'twill be our advantage, the Irish will no longer be able to encourage or pursue their Manufactures from the immense Taxes that will be fixed upon them; and from their Nobility and Gentry leaving the Kingdom, great quantities of wealth will leave them and circulate amongst us.

Were we to suppose this question given up to the deliberation and final decision of a number of honest, rational, intelligent and liberal Men in no wise interested in the event—Men neither influenced by prejudice nor carried away by passion, and what would be their mode of reasoning? what would be their decision?—As Men, as friends to the cause of humanity and liberty, I say, that after having well and fully considered the nature of this measure, its object and consequences—after an ample statement of facts on the treatment of Englishmen towards Irish for this last past Century, and after having previously laid down certain maxims; such as that liberty is the birth-right of Man—a right inherent in his Nature, and given him by God—that all civil Government has its origin in the People—that Governors cannot delegate a right to others they possess not themselves, and that when they do not fulfil their

duty they are responsible to the People alone; after I say, laying down such self-evident Propositions and a few others, which all Men are now fully acquainted with; they would deliver themselves in the following terms:—

1st. That inasmuch as it appeareth from history and tradition, that it has ever been the policy and cunning of the British Legislature to excite religious animosities and cruel hate in his gracious Majesty's kingdom of Ireland.

2d. That inasmuch as, such vile and wicked policy and cunning has had its desired effects, in causing manifold cruelties and unchristian-like persecutions in his said Majesty's kingdom of Ireland.

3d. That inasmuch as, it has ever been the constant, uniform and undeviating practice of the English Ministry, to plunder and oppress his gracious Majesty's subjects of Ireland.

4th. That inasmuch as, such base and unworthy practices have ever met with the indignation and reprobation of his said Majesty's loyal subjects of Ireland.

5th. That inasmuch as it has ever been the custom of the British Legislature, and the wish of the English Merchant, to shackle the commerce of Ireland, to injure the manufactures,

and damp the spirit of his majesty's loyal, industrious and hardy Irish Manufacturer.

6th. And that inasmuch as, such fetters put on their commerce, such injury done to their Manufactures, and such discouragements, placed in the way of trade, have caused much disaffection and much disunion, in his gracious Majesty's loyal subjects of Ireland.

7th. And that inasmuch as, through and by the kind hand of Providence, through our gracious Majesty's fond and tender wishes, and through our patriotic and virtuous Parliament of 82, many and most important concessions were made to his Majesty's faithful subjects of Ireland.

8th. And that inasmuch as such concessions have added much to the dignity, the honour, and the prosperity of his said Majesty's loyal subjects of Ireland.

9th. And inasmuch as it is evident to the whole nation, and to all Europe that the welfare and happiness of Ireland, depend on its preserving its own independency, and that it must infallibly return to its former wretchedness and degradation in case of a Legislative Union with England.

10th. And inasmuch as, a legislative Union with England, will be destructive of the liberty and comforts of his Majesty's loyal subjects of Ireland.

11th. And inasmuch as, a nation without having the power of making its own Laws, and levying its own taxes, is in a state of Slavery.

12th. And inasmuch as, a state of Slavery, is the most abject condition of human nature.

13th. And inasmuch as, his Majesty's loyal Subjects of Ireland, will be in the same abject condition of Slavery provided this said Legislative Union, should be carried into effect.

14th. And inasmuch as, his said Majesty's brave Subjects of Ireland never will accept of any offers from any nation under the Sun, in barter for their national rights and just privileges; and as it is not in the power of England to give them any *real* or *solid* advantages; but on the contrary, will put upon their shoulders many very heavy and grievous burthens and taxes; will saddle upon their backs, a part of her own enormous National Debt, and withal cause an immense drain of wealth by Absentees from his said Majesty's Kingdom of Ireland.

15th. And whereas, it appeareth to us and to the whole Nation, that such ruinous conse-

quences will inevitably happen to all his Majesty's loyal Subjects of Ireland if an Union take place.

16th. And since it appears from history and tradition, that such conduct as hereabove mentioned, has been invariably pursued on the part of the English Legislature, and the English Merchant towards Ireland.

We do hereby declare in the presence of God and all mankind, that we do verily and truly believe, such Union will be pregnant with many and very various and complicated Evils and misfortunes to Ireland.

And, we likewise do declare, it to be our *real* opinion, that if such measure should be carried contrary to the wishes and inclinations of his said Majesty's loyal Subjects of Ireland, the consequences will be, civil war, anarchy and confusion amongst his said Majesty's loyal Subjects of Ireland, and finally a schism betwixt the two Countries:—

Signed,
FRIENDS to Humanity,
Peace and Freedom.

Before I quit this subject, my Countrymen, permit me once more to warn you against the baits which England may hold out to you.—Let no pretences however plausible—let no arguments

however specious, induce you to sacrifice your Country and yourselves.—You will never accept like the ignorant African, of bawbles in barter for your dearest and most precious interests; let me conjure you then in the sacred name of your God and your Country to be unanimous, and unremitting in your opposition to this detestable project.—The Scottish Parliament basely sold the liberty and independence of their Country:—the Scots have smarted for it;—the Scots yet smart for it. Be watchful then, my Countrymen, you are on the very brink of ruin—you and your posterity are about to be swallowed up in perpetual oblivion; a steady, determined and resolute conduct can alone save you. Call your meetings.—Instruct your Representatives, and deliver your sentiments in manly and firm language:—You will, you must be heard:—the voice of God and Nature calls aloud on you to exert yourselves at this awful Crisis. And, by opposing so infamous and monstrous a measure by every means which God and Nature have put into your hands; you act consonant to the Laws of God, of Nature and of Reason.



FINIS.